

128 *Straits Expedition*, with the modifications rendered necessary
 601 by the presence of polyandry and infant marriage among the
 Todas. In any one table the descendants in the male
 line only are given, descendants in the female line being
 recorded in the genealogies of the husbands. Thus, if one
 wishes to ascertain the descendants of Pilivurch in Table 1, it
 is necessary to turn to Table 20 recording the genealogy of
 Teithi, the husband of this woman. The names of males are
 in capital letters, those of females in ordinary type, and the
 name of a wife always follows the name of her husband or
 husbands. Under the name of each individual is placed, in
 italics, the name of the clan to which the individual belongs,
 or, in the case of a married woman, of the clan to which she
 had belonged before marriage. The names of those now
 living are given in Clarendon type, of which Mudrigeidi and
 Savdur in Table 1 are examples. The abbreviation i.m.
 stands for "infant marriage." The abbreviations d.y. and
 d.n.n. stand for "died young" and "died before being
 named" respectively. The latter implies that the child died
 within a few weeks of birth.

When the names of men are enclosed in square brackets,
 polyandry, and when the names of women are so enclosed,
 polygyny, is indicated.

604 In the *Torres Straits Reports* I have shown that there are
 definite reasons why the people should have preserved their
 pedigrees so fully. The pedigrees are not preserved for
 amusement nor out of idle interest in the doings of ancestors
 or neighbours. In Torres Straits the complex and far-reach-
 ing nature of the marriage regulations form the chief motive
 for the preservation of the pedigrees, while the transmission of
 property is perhaps of almost equal importance.

182 Among the Todas we shall see that the marriage regulations
 423 are far simpler than among the Papuans of Torres Straits,
 and in their case the chief motive is probably connected with
 the inheritance of buffaloes, the only form of property in
 which the Toda takes much interest. In the succeeding
 chapters we shall find several examples of social transactions
 in which the knowledge derived from the genealogical record
 has determined the issue.

might lose his position in old age or as the result of illness, and at the time of my visit there were several men who had been the heads of their clans but no longer occupied those positions.

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Similarly, as we have seen, both *kadr* and *pdm* have their leading men, who give their names to the divisions and are probably responsible for the conduct of their business.

PROPERTY

Among the Todas, property may be held by the clan, the family or the individual. I am not clear whether there is any case in which property is held to belong to the Todas as a whole, or to either of the two divisions. There were two villages, Padegar and Ki Perththo, said to be common property, so that any one might live at them. At the time of my visit both were occupied by Melgars people, and I could not satisfy myself as to what was meant by saying that they were common property.

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In general, land, the dairies of the chief villages, and some buffaloes may be said to be the property of the clan. The house, and probably also some villages, are the property of a family, and most buffaloes, household goods and ornaments are the property of the individual.

Land.—The relation of the Todas to the land has been a much discussed theme, and for many years after the first settlement of the hills by Europeans it was a subject of controversy. The fact that the Badagas paid what seemed to be a tribute of grain to the Todas was held to show that the latter were regarded as the "lords of the soil," and the view was strongly upheld that they should be so regarded by the Indian Government. The other view taken of the matter was that permanent rights in the soil throughout India belong to the State. The controversy¹ was not settled till 1843, when it was decided that the Todas should have the privilege of pasturing their herds on the State lands on payment of a small tax. At the present time the Todas receive an annual

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¹ For a full account of this controversy see the *Manual of the Nilgiri District*, by H. R. Grigg, Madras, 1860. See also Thurston, *Bell*, i. 182.

177 sum from the Government as compensation for land taken
421 from them in Ootacamund and elsewhere.

● 423 Although the Todas have thus had much difficulty with the
579 Government in relation to the ownership of land, it does not
seem that they have trouble in this matter among themselves,
and I heard of no disputes between members of different
clans or different villages about grazing rights.

In the account of the marriage dispute between Punog and
Nertiners (see p. 536) the former had evidently put many of
his buffaloes in the charge of his brother-in-law for grazing
purposes, but it was quite clear that no question of grazing
rights came into this dispute. The buffaloes only came into
the quarrel because Nertiners happened to have them in his
charge when the marriage dispute arose.

I did not ascertain definitely how grazing rights between
two clans or families are regulated, but I think it is quite
clear that there is no individual ownership in land.

234 Certain dairies, and probably all the chief villages (*etudmad*),
423 are regarded more or less as the property of the whole clan.
There probably never arises any real question of ownership,
618 but as regards the dairies, it was clear that any expenses
incurred in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy fall on the whole
clan, each *Ni* of the clan contributing an equal share.¹

The buffalo herds of the *Ni* are also regarded as the property
of the whole clan, but the rights of ownership are in these
cases very shadowy. It does not appear that the owning clan
derives any pecuniary benefit from its possession of the
herd, while, on the other hand, the possession involves con-
siderable expense, chiefly owing to certain feasts which have
to be provided, and these expenses are given as the reason
why certain of the sacred dairies are unoccupied. The people
of the owning clan have, it is true, the right of choosing the
paiel, but as the choice is limited, and there is, in most cases,
little competition for the office, this is a very empty honour.

423 *Houses.* Each house belongs to a certain family. The
595 normal Toda family consists of a number of brothers with

[358] ¹ I am not clear on whom the expense of rebuilding and repairing a dairy would
fall when the dairy is situated at a village occupied by one family only, and used
exclusively for buffaloes which are the private property of that family.

one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, and is handed on to the children of the brothers.

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they) shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers will occupy the house.

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages, such as Nasmiödr and Kanödr, now consist of a dairy only, is that the families which possessed the houses at these villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively that a house at such an important village may not, in some cases, be taken over by another family.

Brecks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they

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CHAP.
XXIV.

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II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

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III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

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IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without the consent of the occupants ;⁵ the cattle which graze on it, are the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pālthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption ;⁶ the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kītu,⁷ from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

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VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property : but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations ; being fed from the common stock.

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VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

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IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family : and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in common to several men, each husband considers all the

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Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have no word for clan.

⁵ Mr. J. Brooks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

⁶ See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

⁷ See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kītu.

THE TODAS.

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"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward 291
 "under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
 "leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
 "lower part of the person down to the knees." (Plate XI.)

"The female dress (Plate IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
 "to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
 "shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (Plate V.)¹ A pair of brass 301
 armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Buguri* (Plate XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a 534
 hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end.
 The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the
 fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond 633
 of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a
 European ear, however,—

"their song is death"

"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs 535
 (Plate XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh*,
Hoh.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple *waham*; sometimes with a sort of 576
 bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman
 meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An 609
 old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a
 Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mae*, father-in-law,
 which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the
 latter. (61)

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, ^{Towns}
 to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned ^{land.}
 the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil. 177

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by 421
 Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an 423
 inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following 651
 noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had
 paid annually a light pasture tax for about 100 *Ballas* † of land, and 2 *Kantirāi*
fanams‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pittokk*, like the Todas' temples.

† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.

‡ *Kantirāi fanam* = Cr. 4s. 6p. of present money.

7 [Plate 5A--Analysis]

197 as undefined extent of land. Further, the Badaga and Kota cultivators had
 421 always given them annually a portion of their field produce under the name of
 423 *gudu*, but, "whether out of superstitious motives, or to induce the Todas and to
 651 "molest them, or in acknowledgment of their proprietary right in the land," was
 uncertain.

This seems to be the case for the Todas.

On the other hand there is nothing in the Toda occupation which effects the
 universally acknowledged right of the Government to levy full assessment on all un-
 cultivated land, when actually brought under tillage, a right which the Government
 had exercised without objection in the case of all lands cultivated by the Badagas and
 paying *gudu* to the Todas.

The first step in the settlement of the matter was to declare in 1843 that the Todas
 had an absolute right in their manda or village sites and in the spots appropriated to
 religious rites, and had also a claim to compensation† for abridgment of their grazing
 privileges, but that purchasers from Todas could only buy the right of occupying
 the land for pasture. On this principle compensation was paid by Government
 for the area now forming the Ootacamund settlement. Subsequently, on further
 inquiry, in connexion with the survey of the Hills by Captain Ouchterlony, it
 was found that the Badagas generally were not disposed to admit the right of the
 Todas to demand *gudu* from them at any specified rate, although they acknow-
 ledged the practice of giving *gudu*, and their readiness still to give it "according
 to their own wants or fancy." It was found too that the Badagas had for some
 time past sold lands to Europeans and others without any mention of the *gudu*,
 and that no claim had subsequently been urged by the Todas on the buyer. On
 inquiry into the extent of table land over which *gudu* was claimable, it appeared
 that on the whole plateau of the Hills there were not more than about a hundred
 mandas occupied and unoccupied, and that the pasturage rights of the Todas, in
 practice, only extended to the area surrounding each manda. Under these circum-
 stances it was ruled that lands in the proximity of a manda or of spots appropriated
 to religious rites formed the grazing grounds of the Todas, but elsewhere unoc-
 cupied land might be given by Government on lease for building or agricultural
 purposes. Every lease, however, was to contain a stipulation that *gudu* would
 be charged to the grantee, and added to the annual assessment, if it appeared to
 the satisfaction of the revenue authorities that *gudu* was payable thereon. Sub-
 sequently, in 1863, sales by public auction were substituted for leases. Under orders
 from Government the revenue authorities have abstained from leasing, or putting up
 to public auction, land which could be said to be in inconvenient proximity to Toda

* Despatch from the Court of Directors to Madras, dated 21 June 1843, No. 13.

† Compensation equivalent to the *Gudu* was to be given, and added to the assessment when the land was
 taken and tilled; and in case the land so taken was a portion of that for which the Todas paid the pasture tax, in
 proportionate share of the tax was to be remitted.

In Minutes of Consultation, dated 7 May 1862, the *Gudu* equivalent was fixed at 1 anna per Kharl
 (cowry). A Cowry = 1.38 acres.

THE TODAS.

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177 manda, and I cannot find that in a single instance has *gûda* been claimed* for lands disposed of by Government.

421 Thus the rights of the Todas remain to the present day. They receive *gûda* from
423 the Badagas and Kotas, more or less according to the season and the means of the culti-
651 vator, and they retain possession of their village sites and the surrounding lands under grazing *petiâs*, for which they pay two annas an acre in lieu of the taxes formerly levied.

They have an effective mode of extracting the *gûda* from a refractory Badaga village without reference to law courts. Throughout the district, wherever Badaga cultivation has extended, the Todas have reserved the old sites of their mandas and buffalo kraals,† and have persuaded the Badagas that these places, however long abandoned, and now surrounded with cultivation, are in some sense sacred. When a difficulty about the *gûda* arises, the Todas, by way of an ultimatum, make ready the nearest abandoned manda for habitation. The prospect of having a herd of Toda buffaloes *kraaled* in the midst of their fields soon brings the Badagas to reason.

793 There are five kinds of priests, who rank as follows:—

Relig
Rites
Cows

234 I. *Pâldis* (Plate XII.), who, according to the regular sequence of Toda idens, are a mixture of ascetic and herdsman. They live at isolated mandas called *Tiriaris*.

• "No female is allowed to go near the manda, nor can any man hold converse with
" the *Pâland* without special permission, and then only at a considerable distance.

" Great sanctity attaches to the person of the *Pâland* in the eyes of his Toda brethren,
" and he therefore exerts a powerful influence over their minds. They believe that
" God dwells in him, and makes known His will through him to those who come to him
" for counsel."‡

There are about nineteen *Tiriaris* occupied at certain periods of the year by five *Pâldis*; two, whose head quarters are near Mukkurti Peak (Plate XII.), two near Nanjenâd, and one near Kodanâd. They have charge of sacred bells, which they carry from manda to manda. The *Pâldis* must be *Fukis*; the *Tiriaris*, however, belong to certain *Tarsarahâ* mandas, the inhabitants of which elect the *Pâldis*, and furnish each with an attendant called a *Kooldi*, who may be either a *Fuki* or *Pekkan*, and gets six rupees a year, his food, and a cloth, which however he may not wear when in immediate attendance on the *Pâldi*.

The latter gets nothing but the milk of the sacred herd, which is kept for his use at the *Tiriar*; he holds office as long as he chooses, generally for three or four years. One is said to have been *Pâldi* for fourteen years, but this is mentioned as something extraordinary.

* Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, No. 4,768, 20 July 1868, and Mr. Grant's Letter of the 17th idem.

† Provision was always made in the leases for payment of *gûda*, and for a few years it was enforced. But
" the amount did not exceed a few annas, and the Todas did not care to ask for it."

‡ *Kraal*, a circular enclosure, in which cattle are penned at night, surrounded by a rough stone wall.

§ *Tôlas* inhabiting the Nilgherry Hills, by Mr. Mason, p. 19.

Avalanché to Sispāra, I witnessed an interesting custom. 233
 The Toda family had come to a halt on the far side of the 166
 path; the females seated themselves on the grass, and
 awaited the passing of the sacred herd. This herd,
 which had travelled by a recognised route across country,
 has to cross the bridle-path some two or three hundred
 yards above the Avalanché-Sispāra sign-post. Both the
 ordinary and sacred herd were on the move together.
 The former passed up the Sispāra path, while the latter
 crossed in a line, and proceeded slightly down the hill,
 eventually crossing the stream and up through the
 shōlas over the steep hills on the opposite side of the
 valley. As soon as the sacred herd had crossed the
 bridle-path, the Toda men, having put down all their
 household utensils, went to where the women and girls
 were sitting, and carried them, one by one, over the
 place where the buffaloes had passed, depositing them
 on the path above. One of the men told me that the
 females are not allowed to walk over the track covered [562]
 by the sacred herd, and have to be carried whenever it [778]
 is necessary to cross it. This herd has a recognised
 tract when migrating, and is led by the old buffaloes,
 who appear to know the exact way."

The tenure under which lands are held by the Todas 423
 is summed up as follows by Mr. R. S. Benson in his
 report on the revenue settlement of the Nilgiris, 1885.
 "The earliest settlers, and notably Mr. Sullivan, strongly
 advocated the claim of the Todas to the absolute
 proprietary right to the plateau [as lords of the soil];
 but another school, led by Mr. Lushington, has strongly
 combated these views, and apparently regarded the
 Todas as merely occupiers under the ryotwari system in
 force generally in the Presidency. From the earliest times 427
 the Todas have received from the cultivating Badagas 648

427 an offering or tribute, called gudu or basket of grain,
648 partly in compensation for the land taken up by the
latter for cultivation, and so rendered unfit for grazing
purposes, but chiefly as an offering to secure the favour,
or avert the displeasure of the Todas, who, like the
Kurumbas (*q.v.*), are believed by the Badagas to have
[754] necromantic powers over their health and that of their
herds. The European settlers also bought land in
648 Ootacamund from them, and to this day the Government
423 pays them the sum of Rs. 150 per mensem, as com-
pensation for interference with the enjoyment of their
pastoral rights in and about Ootacamund. Their posi-
tion was, however, always a matter of dispute, until it
was finally laid down in the despatch of the Court of
Directors, dated 21st January, 1843. It was then decided
that the Todas possessed nothing more than a prescrip-
tive right to enjoy the privilege of pasturing their herds,
on payment of a small tax, on the State lands. The
Court desired that they should be secured from inter-
ference by settlers in the enjoyment of their mands,
and of their spots appropriated to religious rites.
Accordingly pattas were issued, granting to each mand
three bullahs (11.46 acres) of land. In 1863 Mr. Grant
obtained permission to make a fresh allotment of nine
bullahs (34.38 acres) to each mand on the express con-
dition that the land should be used for pasturage only, and
that no right to sell the land or the wood on it should be
thereby conveyed. It may be added that the so-called
Toda lands are now regarded as the inalienable common
property of the Toda community, and unauthorised aliena-
tion is checked by the imposition of a penal rate of
assessment (G.O., 18th April 1882). Up to the date
of this order, however, alienations by sale or lease were
of frequent occurrence. It remains to be seen whether

the present orders and subordinate staff will be more adequate than those that went before to check the practices referred to." With the view of protecting the Toda lands, Government took up the management of these lands in 1893, and framed rules, under the Forest Act, for their management, the rights of the Todas over them being in no way affected by the rules of which the following is an abstract :—

1. No person shall fell, girdle, mark, lop, uproot, or burn, or strip off the bark or leaves from, or otherwise damage any tree growing on the said lands, or remove the timber, or collect the natural produce of such trees or lands, or quarry or collect stone, lime, gravel, earth or manure upon such lands, or break up such lands for cultivation, or erect buildings of any description, or cattle kraals; and no person or persons, other than the Todas named in the patta concerned, shall graze cattle, sheep, or goats upon such lands, unless he is authorised so to do by the Collector of Nilgiris, or some person empowered by him.

2. The Collector may select any of the said lands to be placed under special fire protection.

3. No person shall hunt, beat for game, or shoot in such lands without a license from the Collector.

4. No person shall at any time set nets, traps, or snares for game on such lands.

5. All Todas in the Nilgiri district shall, in respect of their own patta lands, be exempt from the operation of the above rules, and shall be at liberty to graze their own buffaloes, to remove fuel and grass for their domestic requirements, and to collect honey or wax upon such lands. They shall likewise be entitled to, and shall receive free permits for building or repairing their mands and temples.

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423 6. The Collector shall have power to issue annual permits for the cultivation of grass land only in Toda pattas by Todas themselves, free of charge, or otherwise as Government may, from time to time, direct; but no Toda shall be at liberty to permit any person, except a Toda, to cultivate, or assist in the cultivation of such lands.

In 1905, the Todas petitioned Government against the prohibition by the local Forest authorities of the burning of grass on the downs, issued on the ground of danger to the shōlas (wooded ravines or groves). This yearly burning of the grass was claimed by the Todas to improve it, and they maintained that their cattle were deteriorating for want of good fodder. Government ruled that the grass on the plateau has been burnt by the inhabitants at pleasure for many years without any appreciable damage to forest growth, and the practice should not be disturbed.

564 Concerning the social organisation of the Todas, Mr. Brecks states that they are "divided into two classes, which cannot intermarry, viz., Dévalyál and Tarserzhál. The first class consists of Peiki class, corresponding in some respects to Brāhmans; the second of the four remaining classes the Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna, and Todi. A Peiki woman may not go to the village of the Tarserzhál, although the women of the latter may visit Peikis." The class names given by Mr. Brecks were readily recognised by the Todas whom I interviewed, but they gave Tērthál (comprising superior Peikis) and Tārthál as the names of the divisions. They told me that, when a Tērthál woman visits her friends at a Tārthál mand, she is not allowed to enter the mand, but must stop at a distance from it. Todas as a rule cook their rice in butter-milk, but, when a Tērthál woman pays a visit to

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Toda culture thirty-five years after

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is remarkable when we consider that the interchange between Badagas and Kotas has broken down almost entirely. This latter break-down however is primarily due to religious changes in the Badaga community. One of the main services supplied by Kotas to Badagas was music at funerals. The majority of the Badagas have reformed their customs in this respect and no longer requiring music and having a convenient source of tools and pots at hand in the bazaars, this section of the Badagas has repudiated with some heat all connexions with the Kota community, especially as the Kotas by expanding their agricultural activities and aspiring to a higher status in the hierarchy of the tribes of the hills have come into quarrelsome conflict with the Badagas. That the Todas have not broken off relations with the Kotas is probably due primarily to their adherence to the old system of acquiring tools and pots and to their desire for the Kota music at funerals. Even this latter item may arise in the future as a source of conflict, since the anti-music tendency of the Badagas has begun to infect the Kotas, or at least one of their most articulate reformers. He is however at present an object of great suspicion to the conservative members of the Kota community and it is improbable that the Todas will be deprived of their funeral music until a fairly remote future. The two tribes do not come into economic conflict, as do the Badagas and the Kotas, nor do Kota caste-aspirations bring them into conflict with the Todas, who as the highest ranking aboriginal community of the hills are immeasurably above the Kotas in their own estimation and look upon the Kota aspirations, if they pay any attention to them at all, with a lordly disdain. My Kota informant, the above-mentioned reformer, has also observed to me rather pathetically that the Todas are a friendly people while the Kotas are quarrelsome, and it is probable that this lordly condescension of the Todas keeps the Kotas on friendly terms with them, while the pushing, *nouveau riche* attitude easily observed in the Badagas antagonizes a caste like the Kotas who having a relatively low position yet do not feel themselves much inferior to the Badagas and certainly will not openly admit any inferiority.

The land basis of Toda economic life is pasturage for the herds. This has been affected adversely by the influx of immi-

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grants, both Indian and European, in the last century, and by the expansion of Badaga agricultural activity. Curtailment of the pasturage areas must have been appreciable even in the days when only the Badagas were agriculturalists in the hills. It is difficult to make out how serious a matter this had become by the beginning of the 19th century. Since then the matter has become serious indeed. First settlement by the English at Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Wellington necessitated purchase of land from the Todas. The sib of the *unpkitjo:* (Rivers' Pām; for details see p. 658) thus lost its chief village and of course the pasture-lands there. So also the two sibs of the *ka:jo:* and *melga:jo:* lost a number of villages and the surrounding pastures where Ootacamund now stands, and the two villages from which these sibs take their names are now actually within the area of the municipality with restricted pastures. In other directions pasturages have been alienated, either to the Badagas when they were vigorously extending their fields for the production of vegetables for the markets or to Europeans who bought land for tea-plantations or for other purposes, the most recent of which has been the construction of a dam on the Pykara river and an electric power line over the hills. Most frequently these sales involved land in the lower margins of the plateau, and the high downs to the west of Ootacamund where villages cluster most thickly have not been seriously affected. Alienation can take place only with the consent of Government and this is charily given if it vitally affects the Todas' best interests. It is of some importance also that the hunting of jackals with horses and hounds has been a favorite sport of the English in the Nilgiris and has influenced them in preserving the downs as open country. Two separate major alienations have taken place within the last fifty years. In one case the lands belonging to two associated dairies of the highest grade (the *ti*-dairies), one of the *ka:jo:* sib, the other of the *mō:jo:* sib, which had not been used for a number of years, were disposed of to the Church of England Zenana Mission for cultivation by the Toda Christian Colony. In the other case two pasturages of the *ti:* of the *ka:jo:* sib were sold to Government and are now incorporated in a forest reserve; these were sold when the sib of the *ka:jo:* were in need of a large sum of money to settle *parkūmā*'s liability in the suicide of *nōrnūmā*. In general,

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and an inferior clan which serves the Thartars, known as Teivil. They have no landed property like the Tibetans, but are herdsmen and have large herds of buffalo, some of which are sacred. In this case, therefore, we do not find the polyandry grouped around landed property which is not supposed to be divided. The Todas only practise fraternal polyandry, and when I asked them if they practised non-fraternal polyandry, as in the case of the *magpa* marriage among the Tibetans, they were very shocked. They thought it was a very immoral idea that two men, not being brothers, could have one wife in common.

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The country in which these Todas live is not barren like Tibet. On the contrary, they live in a very wooded area. Part of the present Todas actually live on a golf course, because British troops have quarters in this area and the officers have set up a sporting club which includes part of the Toda territory. The houses are very small, built only for protection, and radically different from any native construction which their neighbors have. I do not know where they got this architectural style, and nobody has been able to trace its origin. There is a rather tiny door through which one has to bend to enter. The house is all thatched, very well built, and quite snug inside. The front is made of boards, and there is a wall around for protection.

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Men and women alike are dressed in long, flowing, white robes, with red and black stripes on them. They are of an obviously Indian type, rather good-looking. Some of them have progressive ideas to the extent of wearing spectacles, because they are either far- or short-sighted. They are quite good physical specimens of humanity, the color of their skin being dark brown and their hair jet black. The men are very hairy. Some of them wear turbans, but usually they go about bare-headed, showing a rich growth of black hair which they all have, young and old. I wondered if they had a secret formula for hair-dressing but they do not seem to